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**Carl'Ambrogio Lonati and Giuseppe Colombi:
A New Attribution of the Biblioteca Estense
Violin Sonatas**

Francesco Maria Veracini¹ called Carlo Ambrogio Lonati *Il primo Lume dei Violinisti*, a “Prince among Violinists”, and described his music in the following way:

Non può mettersi in dubbio che le Opere di questo insignissimo soggetto hanno servito di norma a' più famosi Compositori di Sonate a solo, a Tre e a quattro, scorgendosi nelle composizioni altrui delle facciate intere, o prese nota per nota, o parafrasate sfrontatamente da alcuni Millantatori del nome di Compositori, i quali le hanno poi date fuori e anco stampate come sue e segnate col loro proprio nome...

There can be no doubt that the works of this most excellent [violinist] have served as models for the most famous composers of sonatas for solo, trios or quartets; [they occur] in the compositions of many, who having come across them copied whole pages, note for note; or have been arrogantly paraphrased by certain sycophants who consider themselves to be composers and who subsequently presented, or even published them in print, treating them as their own and signing their names thereunto...

The solo violin works by Lonati which we know today comprise primarily the 12 sonatas from the manuscript of the Sächsische

¹ Francesco Maria VERACINI *Il trionfo della pratica musicale*, undated manuscript from the Biblioteca del Conservatorio in Florence, f. I. 28, pp. 381–2.

Landesbibliothek of Dresden; one sonata published in a London anthology; the sonata in the manuscript at the Biblioteca Estense in Modena; six sonatas in the manuscripts of the Katholieke Universiteit in Leuven and the Statens Musikbibliothek in Stockholm; and a few works of doubtful authorship in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.² Already before the Second World war Adolfo Betti, and later Guglielmo Barblan, were saying that more attention should be given to Lonati's violin compositions; while Franz Giegling suggested a search for Lonati's works in the anonymous manuscripts copied for composers from the milieu of Stradella.³ Peter Allsop has followed these suggestions, and thanks to his work on Lonati, today the instrumental works of this forgotten virtuoso, who in his times was widely known as *Il Gobbo della Regina*, have become somewhat more familiar.⁴ However, there are still no probing studies or examinations of his solo sonatas, which Allsop has rightly classified among the most difficult 17th-century violin compositions.⁵ As regards the works of Colombi, we know over 950 compositions by him in

² Cf. the list of his works in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* II, Vol. 15, p. 90. The Dresden manuscript was lost during combat operations, but a microfilm copy by Bernhard Paumgartner has fortunately survived, and has served as the basis for the modern edition, *Carl Ambrogio Lonati Die Violinsonaten, Mailand 1701*. Ed. Franz Giegling, *Prattica Musicale* 3, Winterthur, 1981.

³ Cf. Adolfo BETTI *Francesco Geminiani*. Lucca, 1934, p. 10; Guglielmo BARBLAN 'La musica strumentale e cameristica a Milano dalla seconda metà del Cinquecento e tutto il Seicento' *Storia di Milano*, 16. Milan, 1962, p. 617; Franz GIEGLING, op. cit., p. 8.

⁴ Cf. Peter ALLSOP 'Problems of Ascription in the Roman Simfonia of the Late 17th Century: Colista and Lonati' *The Music Review* XXX 1989 no 1; idem, 'Le simfonie à 3 di Carlo Ambrogio Lonati' *Seicento inesplorato*, ed. A. Colzani, A. Luppi, M. Padoan, Como, 1992; idem, *The Italian 'trio' Sonata: From Its Origins Until Corelli*. Oxford, 1992, and the modern editions of Lonati by P. Allsop, *Simfonie A7, A8, A9*. Crediton, 1988; *Simfonie A1, A2, A3*. Crediton, 1990.

⁵ P. ALLSOP *Problems of Ascription...* op. cit., p. 37; Cf. Allsop's remarks in 'Violinistic Virtuosity in the Seventeenth Century: Italian Supremacy or Austro-German Hegemony?' *Il Saggiatore Musicale* III 1996, pp. 252–257. In the meantime, when my article was waiting so long for being published and was proposed as a paper to the Tenth Biennial International Conference on Baroque Music in Logroño (July 2002), professor Allsop published his new study on Lonati's Dresden sonatas. Cf. Peter ALLSOP 'Il gobbo della regina Primo lume dei violinisti: Lonati's Sonatas of 1701' *Analecta Musicologica*, 32, Rome 2002

17 manuscript volumes in the Biblioteca Estense at Modena.⁶ This is one of the largest 17th-century manuscript collections with a single author's instrumental music, primarily dances and variations, a small number of sonatas and toccatas, as well as the incomplete sketches and a number of variations of the same works. The image of this composer we have today has been built up chiefly thanks to the pioneering work of Gino Roncaglia, Erich Schenk, and Willi Apel; while the solo works themselves have recently become the subject of studies by John Suess.⁷

The subject of this paper will be an analysis of the solo sonatas in four codices preserved in the Biblioteca Estense (shelf marks Mus. F. 280, F. 283, F. 1386, and E. 282), and their confrontation with the manuscripts containing Lonati's sonatas, including the Modena collection in Mus. F. 639. The whole of the first two codices are attributed in their entirety to Colombi; while the latter two contain individual works by him.⁸ We do not have any accurate dates for these manuscripts, and the paper has no watermarks or annotations. Colombi's autographs were made before 1694; while Lonati's sonata might come into the d'Este archives along with his vocal works in 1686, when he was in Modena supervising the performance of the works of Stradella, and put on his own opera *I due fratelli rivali* and the oratorio *L'innocenza di Davide*. The

⁶ Cf. *I-MOe*, Mus. E. 34, F. 272–7, F. 280, F. 282–6 and G. 56–9.

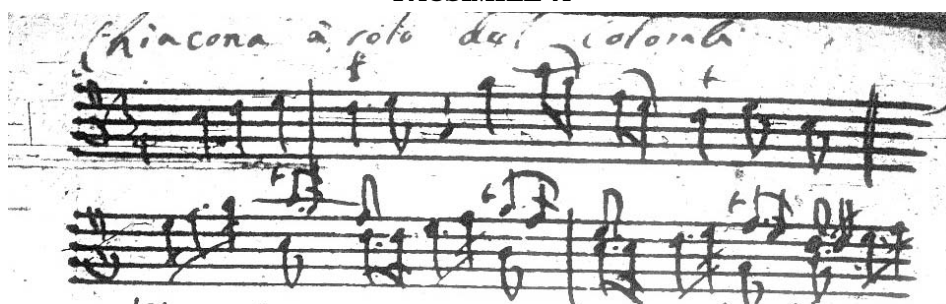
⁷ Cf. Gino RONCAGLIA 'Giuseppe Colombi e la vita musicale modenese durante il regno di Francesco II d'Este' and Erich SCHENK 'Osservazioni sulla scuola instrumentale modenese nel Seicento' both articles in *Atti e memorie dell'Accademia di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti di Modena*, Vol. 5, no 10. Modena 1952; Willi APEL *Italian Violin Music of the Seventeenth Century*. Indiana 1992, pp. 203–7 (revised version of a series of articles 'Studien über die frühe Violinmusik' *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* xxx-viii, 1973–81); John G. SUESS 'The Instrumental Music Manuscripts of Giuseppe Colombi of Modena: A Preliminary Report on the Non-Dance Music for Solo Violin or Violone' *Seicento Inesplorato*. Ed. A. Colzani, A. Luppi, M. Padoan, Como 1993; idem, 'Giuseppe Colombi's Dance Music for the Estense Court of Duke Francesco II of Modena' *Marco Uccellini*. Ed. M. Caraci Vela, M. Toffetti, Lucca, 1999; Cf. also P. ALLSOP, *Violinistic Virtuosity...*, op. cit., pp. 248–252.

⁸ Cf. Pio LODI *Catalogo delle opere musicali. Città di Modena, Biblioteca Estense*. Parma, 1916–21; Alessandra CHIARELLI 'I codici di musica della Raccolta Estense. Ricostruzione dall'inventario settecentesco' *Quaderni della Rivista Italiana di Musicologia*, 16, Florence, 1987; and SUESS *The Instrumental Music...*, op. cit., p. 396; idem, *Giuseppe Colombi's Dance Music...*, op. cit., p. 144.

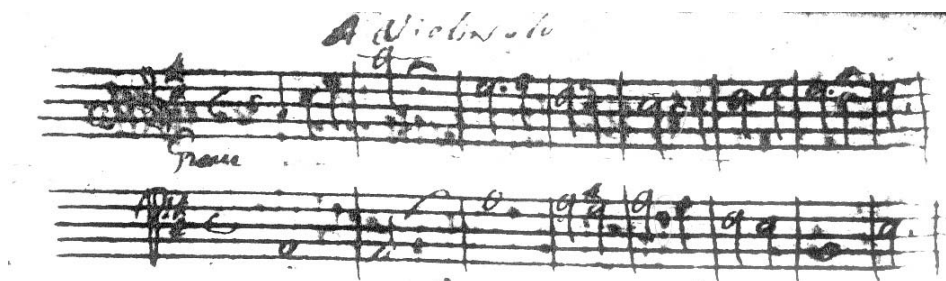
remaining collections, containing anonymous works and works designated as Colombi's, could have been compiled in the years 1684–89, when the Duke's library was accumulating numerous copies and transcripts of the works of composers outside the Modena environment. Significantly, it was precisely in this period that Giuseppe Colombi, who was deputy chapel-master, bore the main responsibility for the music collections in the archives at the Duke's court.⁹

The enumerated manuscripts carry three different hands: "A", the most careless and rapidly written script, belonging to Colombi; "B", a more elegant hand similar in style to the handwriting in Lonati's manuscript; and "C", the hand of one of the copyists (perhaps Giovanni Braida or Andrea Sarti) at the court of Francesco II d'Este (cf. facsimiles A, B, and C).¹⁰

FACSIMILE A



MOe Mus. F. 280 nr 10



MOe Mus. F. 280 nr 4

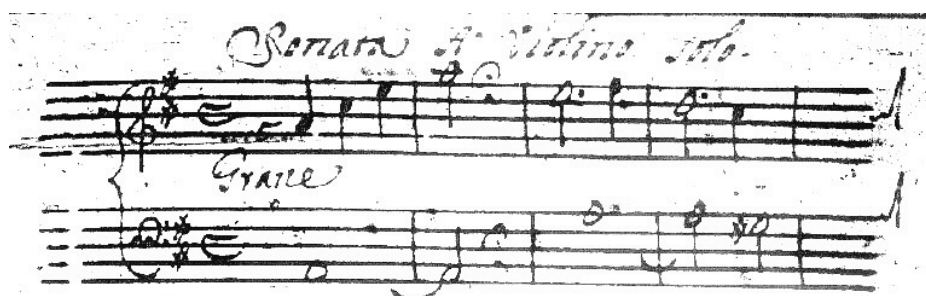
⁹ A. CHIARELLI op. cit., pp. 24–25.

¹⁰ Cf. G. RONCAGLIA op. cit., pp. 45–6; A. CHIARELLI op. cit., p. 25; J. G. SUESS *The Instrumental Music...* op. cit., p. 390.

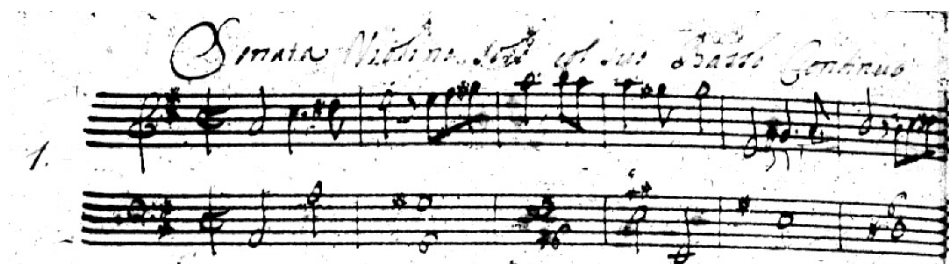
FACSIMILE B



MOe Mus. F. 639

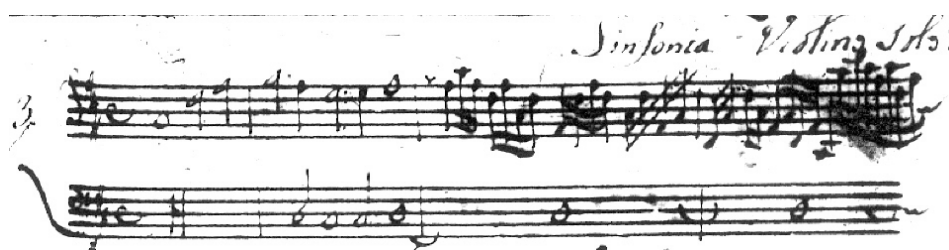


MOe Mus. F. 280 nr 8



MOe Mus. E. 282 nr 1

FACSIMILE C



MOe Mus. E. 282 nr 3

Codex Mus. F. 280 is entitled *Colombi Giuseppe. Sinfonie, Sonate, &c. à Violino e Basso. Libro 10^o*, and today is regarded in its entirety as one of Colombi's collections.¹¹ In the old inventory of the d'Este archives, *Catalogus Estensium Manuscriptorum Codicum Veteri Eorum Ordinatione Servata*, it had a slightly different title, *Sinfonie otto a violino solo di Giuseppe Colombi. Libro p. mo*. More importantly, however, it bore the following remarks: "Insertum 1. Ambrogio Carolus. Sonata a violino solo di Carlo Ambrogio, " and "Insertum 2. Colombi Joseph. Ciaccone due a solo del Colombi. Corrente a due corde dello stesso. "¹² We should add that the inscription for *insertum 2* is incomplete and inaccurate, since it fails to mention the final work in the collection, *Tromba à Basso solo del Colombi* (No. 13); while the title suggests that Lonati's sonata was counted in as one of the eight sinfonias by Colombi (cf. Table 1). It is hard to say why the inventory attributes the authorship of only one of the works marked as a "Sonata" to Lonati, if Sonatas No. 6 and 8 are clearly in the same copyist's hand, and are similar to each other in style.¹³ Moreover the hand of these two sonatas is indicative of the same copyist who inscribed one of Lonati's sonatas in F. 639 (cf. facsimile B). Would we be permitted on the grounds of these inaccuracies to judge the information in the inventory as unreliable?¹⁴ Regardless of whether *insertum 1* refers to Sonata No. 6 or No. 8, the appearance of Lonati's name in the context of a collection ascribed to Colombi must induce us to re-examine the entire codex from this aspect, since even a cursory comparison of Nos. 1 and 2 in F. 280 with the opening sonata in the Dresden collection of Lonati's works reveals "whole pages copied, note for note; or arrogantly paraphrased" (Example 1).

¹¹ Cf. P. LODI op. cit. ; J. G. SUESS, *The Instrumental Music...* op. cit., pp. 391–3, 396 and J. G. SUESS, *Giuseppe Colombi's Dance Music...* op. cit., p. 144.

¹² Cf. A. CHIARELLI, *Catalogus...* . Item 421.

¹³ Cf. F. 280 No. 6 & No. 8; alongside obvious similarities of style we encounter a telling auto-citation, the passage [Grave], indicative of the same composer's hand. Cf. F. 280 No. 6, bars 66–73 (the end of the article) and No. 8, bars 63–70 in J. G. SUESS, *The Instrumental Music...* op. cit. pp. 404–405.

¹⁴ J. G. SUESS op. cit. does not refer to these data.

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No.	Work	Page	Copyist	Remarks
1.	<i>Sinfonia A' Violino Solo</i>	1r-3v	A	simplified variant of Lonati's <i>Sonata I</i> from <i>Dlb Mus.2020-R-1</i>
2.	<i>A' Violino Solo</i>	5r-7v	A	more difficult version of No.1
3.	<i>A' Violino Solo</i>	9r-12r	A	
4.	<i>A' Violino Solo</i>	13r-17r	A	
5.	<i>A' Violino Solo</i>	19r-23v	A	more difficult version of No.4
6.	<i>Sonata A Violino Solo</i>	25r-30v	B	more difficult version of No.7
7.	<i>A' Violino Solo</i>	33r-37v	A	
8.	<i>Sonata A Violino Solo</i>	39r-44r	B	more difficult version of Nos.4 & 5
9.	<i>Chiacona à solo del Colombi</i>	45v-46r	A	unaccompanied
10.	<i>Chiacona à solo del Colombi</i>	47v-48r	A	unaccompanied
11.	<i>Del Colombi Corente à 2 corde</i>	49r	A	unaccompanied
12.	<i>Tromba à Violino solo del Colombi</i>	50v-51r	A	unaccompanied
13.	<i>Tromba à Basso solo del Colombi</i>	51v-52r	A	unaccompanied

Table 1. MOe, Mus. F. 280 Colombi Giuseppe. *Sinfonie, Sonate &c. à Violino e Basso. Libro 10^o*

Work	Page	Copyist	Remarks
<i>Sonata à Violino solo</i>	1r-2v	B	the monogram "C. A." inscribed in top left corner on title page, as in <i>Wn E. M. 62a & 62b</i>

Table 2. MOe, Mus. F. 639 Carlo Ambrogio Lonati *Sonata A' Violino solo*.

1 [Largo] *tr.* [Presto]

MOe, Mus.280 nr 1 & 2, *DI*, Mus.2020-R-1, nr 1.

8 *MOe*, F.280 nr 2; *DI*, Mus.2020-R-1 nr 1.

8 *MOe*, Mus.F.280 nr 1.

28 *DI*, Mus.2020-R-1 nr 1.

28 *MOe*, Mus.F.280 nr 2.

28 *MOe*, Mus.F.280 nr 1.

Example 1

Codex E. 282, entitled *Sonate à Violino Solo con il basso* — Autori diversi, is made up in the same way as Codex F. 280. According to the inventory, three solo works with no basso continuo have been added to the anonymous *Sonate quattro a violino solo col basso continuo*. The three additions are described as “Insertum. Colombi Joseph. Scordatura, ciaccona, tromba e violoncello di Giuseppe Colombi” (Table 3).¹⁵

¹⁵ Cf. A. CHIARELLI, *Catalogus...* Item 646.

No.	Work	Page	Copyist	Remarks
1.	<i>Sonata Violino Solo col suo Basso Continuo</i>	1r–8r	B	
2.	<i>Sinfonia Violino Solo</i>	9r–12r	C	
3.	<i>Sinfonia Violino Solo</i>	13r–14v	C	1 st half of Sonata F.283 No.35; variant F.1386 No.5 and <i>Wn</i> E.M.62a & 62b
4.	<i>Sinfonia Violino Solo</i>	15r–16v	C	2 nd half of Sonata F.283 No.35; variant F.1386 No.5
5.	<i>Scordatura del Colombi</i>	17r	A	
6.	<i>Chiacona [sic] à solo del Colombi</i>	18v–19r	A	variant F.283 No.11
7.	<i>Tromba à Violino solo del Colombi</i>	20v–21v	A	variant F.280 No.12

Table 3. *MOe, Mus. E. 282 Sonate à Violino Solo con il basso — Autori Diversi.*

The sonata opening the collection is the only one which was inscribed by Copyist B, perhaps Lonati himself (cf. Facsimile B), and shows a number of features typical of this composer's style.¹⁶ The three following sinfonias, taken down by Copyist C, at first sight appear to be very different. The extensive four-movement Sinfonia No. 2 does not differ stylistically from Lonati's sonatas, but Sinfonias No. 3 and No. 4 are small tripartite compositions, and much shorter, with the movements in a different sequence. If the whole collection is compared with Codex F. 283 and F. 1386 it becomes evident that Copyist C simply divided up a six-movement sonata into two tripartite sinfonias (cf. Table 6). But much more interesting conclusions are to be drawn from a comparison of all of these versions and variants (E. 282 No. 3, F. 283 No. 35, and F. 1386 No. 5) with manuscripts E. M. 62a and E. M. 62b in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, which originally came from the Modena archival collection. What we have is again "whole pages, note for note; or else arrogantly paraphrased" (Example 2ab).

¹⁶ Type of form, large size (192 bars), many movements, and prominence given to violinistic virtuosity. Cf. Facsimile B.

Adagio Presto

Wn., E.M.62a & E.M.62b

MOe, Mus.F.283 nr 35, E.282 nr 3.

MOe, Mus.F.1386 nr 5.

11 [Adagio]

MOe, Mus.F.283 nr 35, E.282 nr 3, F.1386 nr 5, **Wn.** E.M.62a

Mus.E.282 nr 3: 6 6 6

36 [Allegro]

MOe, Mus.F.283 nr 35, E.282 nr 3, **Wn.** E.M.62a

MOe, Mus.F.1386 nr 5.

Mus.E.282 nr 3: 6 7 6 7 4 3 4 3 4 3

Example 2a

[Largo]

MOe, Mus.F.283 nr 35.

MOe, Mus.E.282 nr 3.

Mus.E.282 nr 3: 6 6

134 [Presto]

MOe, Mus.F.283 nr 35.

Sinfonia a Violino Solo

MOe, Mus.E.282 nr 4.

Mus.E.282 nr 4: 7 7 6

[Largo]

MOe, Mus.F.283 nr 35, E.282 nr 4, F.1386 nr 5.

Mus.E.282 nr 4: 6 7 6

61 [Presto]

MOe, Mus.F.283 nr 35, E.282 nr 4.

MOe, Mus.F.1386 nr 5.

Mus.E.282 nr 4: 7 6 4 3

Example 2b

Both Viennese variants are cited in the catalogue of the complete works of Corelli as sonatas of doubtful authorship. Hans Joachim Marx refers to the remarks by Robert Haas on the interpretation of the monogram inscribed on these manuscripts, and does not rule out Lonati's authorship.¹⁷ On the basis of these concordances, and if we remember that Lonati's Modena sonata F. 639 carries a similar monogram (cf. Facsimile B), we may assume that all of these versions and variants (*MOe*, E. 282 Nos. 3+4, F. 283 No. 35, F. 1386 No. 5, and *Wn*, E. M. 62a and 62b) are the works of Lonati, and not Colombi or Corelli.¹⁸ The mechanism used for the compilation of this codex on the principle of adding some virtuoso variations on the ciaccona, dances, and trombettas to a series of Lonati's sonatas and the nature of adaptations is similar to the one in the F. 280 collection and suggests it was the brainchild of the same person.

Codex F. 1386, entitled *Ballo à 2 Violini, e Sonate à Violino Solo e B. C. — Autori Diversi* (cf. Table 4), is organised in a completely different way.

According to the inventory to the collection *Sassolese, o siano sonate a violino solo p[er] brando, allemande, sarabande e minuetti. Libro II di Luigi Mancia*, it has an insert, *Sonate cinque a violino solo del Colombi*.¹⁹ Although all five of these sonatas were written in Colombi's hand, the expression "Del Colombi" appears only on three of them (Nos. 2, 3, and 6). He added these inscriptions in a different ink, and probably at a later time. The remaining two sonatas (Nos. 4 and 5) were signed with the initial "R. ", which might perhaps be read as "Retrosritto", viz. Colombi.²⁰ However,

¹⁷ Cf. Hans Joachim MARX *Catalogue raisonné, Einleitung*, 4. *Die zweifelhaften Werke und die Falsifikate* and 3. *Anhang I: Zweifelhafte Werke (Anh. 112–113)* Cologne, 1980, pp. 48, p. 281–3; Robert HAAS *Die Estensische Musikalien, Thematisches Verzeichnis mit Einleitung* Regensburg, 1927, pp. 123–4. These sonatas are also to be found listed as doubtful works in Michael J. A. DORAN'S entry for "Lonati" in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* vol. 11, p. 141.

¹⁸ Despite certain similarities in the hand of *MOe*, Mus. F. 639 and *Wn*, E. M. 62a and E. M. 62b, these manuscripts are by different writers. I am indebted to Dr. Thomas Leibnitz, director of the music section of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, for his kind assistance in the comparison of these two manuscripts and a rapid dispatch of the photocopies I needed.

¹⁹ Cf. A. CHIARELLI, *Catalogus...* Item 389.

²⁰ Neither P. LODI nor J. G. SUESS attribute these works to Colombi, op. cit.

No.		Work	Page	Copyist
1.	«La Sassolese». Ballo à 2 violini e basso. <i>Mancia</i>	1r–5v	D	Luigi Mancia's (ca 1660-1708) duet
2.	<i>Sonata à Violino Solo</i> [Del Colombi]	6r–7v	A	Del Colombi inscribed by the author's hand in another ink
3.	<i>Sonata à Violino Solo</i> [Del Colombi]	8r–9v	A	Del Colombi inscribed by the author's hand in another ink
4.	<i>Sonata à Violino Solo</i> "R."	10r–11v	A	simplified version of F.283 No.29
5.	<i>Sonata à Violino Solo</i> "R."	12r–14r	A	simplified version of E.282 No.3 & F.283 No.35, and variant Wn E.M. 62a & 62b
6.	<i>Sonata à Violino Solo</i> [Del Colombi]	15r–16r	A	Del Colombi inscribed by the author's hand in another ink

Table 4. MOe, Mus. F. 1386 *Ballo à 2 Violini, e Sonate à Violino Solo e B. C.*
— *Autori Diversi*

a close analysis of the five sonatas reveals a fundamental difference between Nos. 2, 3, and 6, which resemble each other, and Nos. 4 and 5.²¹ Moreover, the two sonatas with the mysterious signature have their respective versions and variants in other Modena manuscripts attributed to Colombi, while the first three movements of Sonata No. 5 have their counterparts in Lonati's Viennese sonata E. M. 62a. (cf. Example 2). In terms of style Sonatas No. 4 and 5 show more features characteristic of Lonati, although this time the scale of simplifications in violin technique is very large in comparison with the devices in F. 280. Again, at least one work which is definitely Lonati's (No. 5, initialled "R. ") has been cleverly sandwiched between the works of Colombi.

Codex E. 283, which is extremely large and contains 42 works, is entitled *Varie partite di Barabani, Ruggieri e Scordature a Violino Solo o con Bassi, Libro 14°, and Varie partite ... a violini e violone. Libro duodecimo di Giuseppe Colombi*. The whole of this manuscript

²¹ Nos. 2, 3 & 6 are shorter, five-movement, with lucid structures and almost identical sequence of movements, in a light style close to the *da camera* dance works, Nos. 4 & 5 are larger, six- and four-movement respectively, richer texturally and tonally, with a graver style, more characteristic of the sonata *da chiesa*.

is in Colombi's hand. The inventory gives no information whatsoever about any inserts. Apart from two sonatas (Nos. 29 and 35) which have been identified as works by Lonati on the basis of their concordance with the Viennese autograph and stylistic criteria, the entire collection comprises *da camera* and *da ballo* works, many of them unaccompanied, which were a speciality of Colombi's (Table 5). Both sonatas are an obvious disruption of the collection's homogeneity, which highlights their extraneous nature all the more and discloses the mechanism whereby Colombi "presented ... them as his own and signed his name ... unto" the solo sonatas of Lonati.

No.	Work	Page	Copyist	Remarks
29.	[Sonata a Violino solo]	49v–53r	A	harder version of F.1386 No.4
35.	[Sonata a Violino solo]	59v–66r	A	the full, hardest version of F.1386 No.5 & E.282 No.3+4, variant <i>Wn</i> E.M.62a & 62b

Table 5. MOe, Mus. F. 283 *Varie partite di Barabani, Ruggieri e Scordature a Violino Solo o con Bassi*. Libro 14^o.

If we examine the exceptionally large number of Colombi's works, both the published ones as well as those extant in manuscripts, we see that the overwhelming majority of them comprises *da camera* works (sinfonias, sonatas, trombas, partitas, and ciacconas), and *da ballo* works (balli, correnti, brandi, gigue, barabani, and sarabands).²² The relatively small number of 24 sonatas of *da chiesa* type, in comparison with these, in Op. 2 and 4, consists mostly of short, tripartite works of about 70 bars with a simple and clear structure involving a short imitational introduction, a free homophonic-like middle part, and a dance finale.²³ The influence of the Bologna school may be detected in them, of Maurizio Cazzati in their form, and of Giovanni Battista Vitali in their melodies. However in terms of texture Colombi's sonatas are not so rich as the Bolognese

²² In Opp. 1 & 5 Colombi had 21 suites (labelled as *sinfonie* or *sonate da camera*); in Opp. 1 & 3 there is a total of 48, in the manuscripts there are over 1100 dances. Cf. J. G. SUESS, *Giuseppe Colombi's Dance Music...* op. cit. pp. 143–5.

²³ In Op. 2 Colombi calls them all *sinfonie*.

sonatas; they are much simpler and sometimes downright trivial. Colombi was patently avoiding elaborate counterpoint in favour of lighter, homophonic-like constructions; it is evident that he was specialising in *da ballo* and *da camera* music. Significantly, Colombi was not a member of the Accademia Filarmonica, unlike his rivals Giovanni Maria Bononcini and Giovanni Battista Vitali. Although he held the same title of vice chapel-master, he was paid much less than they were.²⁴ A local composer closely connected with one music centre only, he was completely unknown outside Emilia-Romagna. He was violinist and music tutor to Francesco II d'Este, but the extant documents in no way suggest that he was ever regarded as a virtuoso. The relatively low pay he received for a virtuoso, vice chapel-master, and keeper of the music collections all in one, as well as the fact that his employer was anxious to enlist the services of Corelli²⁵ are further pieces of evidence corroborating this.

Lonati's extant instrumental works comprise mainly *da chiesa* compositions: à 2 and à 3 sinfonias similar in style to the sinfonias of the most renowned Roman composers, Lelio Colista, Alessandro Stradella, and Carlo Mannelli, and also solo violin sonatas. All of his works are challenging not only for the violinist, but also for the cellist. They are marked by the highest class of virtuosity, and also call for a masterly performance of the fugue and concertante techniques, and for a sophisticated counterpoint. An unrivalled violin virtuoso, vocalist, and grand composer active in all the fields of music, Lonati was received at the principal courts (by the Viceroy of Spain in Naples, by Christina of Sweden in Rome, by the Emperor Leopold I in Vienna). He had imbibed a number of musical tastes, both Southern Italian (Neapolitan and Roman) and northern (from Milan, Genua, and Modena).²⁶ Perhaps this is why his sonatas and sinfonias feature an extraordinary diversity of formal solutions. His works span the range from three to six, or even more, movements.

²⁴ Cf. the entry for B. M. ANTOLINI in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*. Vol. 27, Rome, 1982.

²⁵ Cf. P. ALLSOP *Arcangelo Corelli: 'New Orpheus of Our Times'*. Oxford, 1999, pp. 40–41.

²⁶ According to Hawkins, Lonati and Siface also visited England around 1687. Cf. Richard HAWKINS *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*. London, 1776, p. 808.

His solo sonatas from the Dresden manuscript, which were dedicated to the Emperor Leopold I, were composed when he was no longer a young artist, and are unusually uniform for him in this respect: most of them are extensive five-movement works of approximately 200 bars. On the whole they open with an elaborate mosaic movement with an interchange of short sections in the *perfidia*, *toccata*, or *trombetta* style, with slow cantabile passages like Corelli's Op. 5 No. 1; after which there is a developed fugue displaying the supreme skills of virtuoso violin playing such as multiple stopping polyphony, arpeggios, high notes up to *b*³, bowed vibrato (*tremolo con arco*), and bariolage. In his middle movements Lonati has slow adagios, sometimes in triple time; in his fourth movements he uses his characteristic *moto perpetuo*, and a gigue in his final movements. He applies scordatura in as many as 7 of the 12 sonatas, and in No. 6 also requires the use of a five-stringed violin²⁷. So to which of these two violinists should these manuscripts be ascribed?

Mus. F. 280 carries the unmistakable features of a musical notebook, the main part of which consists of a host of different versions of works in a *da chiesa* style (1r–44r), supplied with an appendix, which contain short pieces for unaccompanied violin in a *da camera* style (45v–52r). All of these versions have been recorded with no deletions or corrections typical of authors' rough copies. On the other hand, deletions and sketches for indeterminate works of dance music are to be found in the second part of this manuscript, on pages 50r and 52v. Also, the different versions of the sonatas and sinfonias have not been put into a logical order, as might have been expected in a tutorial score; instead they are in a rather arbitrary arrangement (cf. Table 1). In the case of Sonata No. 5 we may wonder just what was the sense of rewriting the whole of the work, if a small change only was introduced in just three bars (a transposition to a lower octave in bars 138–140). Apart from the simple transposition, the definitely erroneous anticipation suggests that Nos. 4 and 5 were secondary with respect to No. 8. In both of these transcripts Colombi missed two bars out of Lonati's

²⁷ For further discussion on Lonati's and Colombi's violin sonatas as well as the transcriptions of them see my Ph.D. thesis *Sonata na skrzypce solo w siedemnastowiecznych Włoszech - jej forma i technika* [Solo violin sonata in the Seventeenth-Century Italy – its form and technique], Jagellonian University, Cracow 2000.

original (bars 142–143), thereby disturbing the logical course of the descending scalar progression (Example 3a). A common feature of the variants of Sonata Nos. 7, 4, and 5 — all written in Colombi's hand — is the substantial simplification of the violin technique with respect to Sonatas No. 6 and 8, which are inscribed "in Lonati's hand."²⁸ Passages in the high notes have been brought down to lower octaves, while chordal playing has either been simplified or removed completely.



Example 3a



Example 3b

Sinfonias No. 1 and No. 2 are also simplified versions of Sonata 1 in Lonati's Dresden manuscript as regards violin technique, but this time these works differ considerably in terms of form. Their only obvious similarity comes within the first two movements: the

²⁸ In nos. 4, 5 & 7 the modest basso continuo ciphering is omitted as well, along with some of the agogical and dynamic descriptions present in nos 6 i 8.

works from F. 280 are tripartite, with their third movements absent from the Dresden score, while Lonati's Dresden sonata is a five-movement work (cf. Table 6).²⁹ Most probably when he was revising his collection of sonatas many years later with the aim of captivating the music-lovers of Vienna with them, Lonati resorted to his earlier *sinfonia*, adding three new movements to turn it into a five-movement work, which following the publication of Corelli's Op. 5 had generally come to be regarded as a violin sonata structure. If Sonatas No. 6 and 8, and *Sinfonia* No. 1 may be associated with Lonati in view of the indications in the inventory, the handwriting, style, and concordance with another of his autographs, then the only *sinfonia* with no variants, No. 3, may also be attributed to him on the grounds of style alone. Style provides very strong grounds here, since no compositions at all are to be found in the works of Colombi with such clear-cut features characteristic of a Roman *simfonia à 2*, while such works are indeed to be encountered among the compositions of Lonati (Example 4).³⁰



Example 4

In view of all this, we have to observe that the collection bearing the shelf-mark Mus. F. 280, the first part of which is described in the inventory as *Sinfonie otto a violino solo di Giuseppe Colombi*, contains two sonatas (Nos. 6 and 8) and two *sinfonias* (Nos. 2 and 3) by Lonati,³¹ transcribed and arranged by Colombi in versions that simplified the high demands made of the violinist as regards

²⁹ The difference may have accounted for the use of the term *Sinfonia*, not *Sonata*, in F. 280 no 1.

³⁰ This distinction is emphasised by J. G. SUESS in *The Instrumental...* op. cit., p. 392.

³¹ *Sinfonia* no 2, a much harder version than no 1, calling for the use of the position VIII, should be regarded as a much closer version to Lonati.

techniques for their performance, most probably to accommodate them to the more modest skills Colombi himself, or perhaps one of his pupils.³² Its second part, *Insertum 2*, which is clearly marked in all of the works it contains as “del Colombi”, is indubitably by Colombi and corresponds very well to the style of his *da camera* compositions.

A comparison of the different structural versions and variants of the same works in Codices E. 282, F. 1386, and F. 283 reveals an identical mechanism of simplification of the violin score as evidenced in F. 280; and regardless of which hand is examined (whether Copyist A or C) it is indicative of the same author (Example 2). Thanks to the similarities with the Viennese variants bearing Lonati's monogram and to the stylistic criteria, again for all of these cases we have to acknowledge that the works of Lonati must have served as the originals which Colombi only revised. We do not know whether Colombi is to be held responsible for the structural variants of some of the works, apart from the simplifications, or whether he was following some ready-made variants produced by Lonati himself but now lost. However, as we compare the variants one by one, we observe a tendency typical of Lonati to experiment continuously with different forms, balancing between the three-movement type characteristic of the *sinfonia* and the five-movement type distinctive of the *sonata*, along with expansions and contractions of the two structures (cf. Table 6).³³

To sum up, these observations lead to the general conclusion that the only solo sonatas from manuscript F. 1386 which may thus be recognised as Colombi's are Nos. 2, 3, and 6. However, if we compare these works with his published trio sonatas, we will encounter very few similarities, and if we remember that he added

³² On the basis of an analysis of the published works and the manuscripts signed with Colombi's name, we may say that his violinistic workshop was no different from the contemporary standards. In his manuscripts Colombi often requires multiple stops, although as a rule this tends to be chordal playing typical for dance pieces with much emphasis on the rhythm; on the other hand we encounter no examples of the multiple stopping in fugues characteristic of the sonatas of Lonati or Corelli. Like Lonati, Colombi uses *scordatura* very frequently, but avoids playing in the high positions limiting himself to the framework of the position III. Cf. op. 2, Mus. F. 283–6, Mus. G. 56–9.

³³ The sonata in F. 639 is a three-movement work.

Work	Form
MOe F.283 No.35 [<i>Sonata à Violino solo</i>]	A B C D E B ¹
MOe F.1386 No.5 <i>Sonata à Violino solo</i>	A B E B ¹
MOe E.282 No.3 <i>Sinfonia Violino Solo</i>	A B C
MOe E.282 No.4 <i>Sinfonia Violino Solo</i>	D E B ¹
Wn E.M.62a <i>Sonatta à Violino Solo</i>	A B F
Wn E.M.62b <i>Sonata à Solo</i>	A G H I J
MOe F.280 No.1, 2 <i>Sinfonia à Violino Solo</i>	A B C
Dlb Mus.2020-R-1 <i>Sonata I</i>	A B D E F

Table 6. Structural variants in mss. ascribed to Lonati.

the inscription “del Colombi” later on, then the doubts as to his authorship increase. The lightness, simplicity, clarity of form, and modest dimensions of these pieces are evidence in his favour, but their five-movement structures and very modest violinist workshop (modest even for Colombi) indicate that there is a need for further study on this problem.

Thanks to the comparative analyses today we can say that in the d'Este codices, also these now preserved in Vienna, there is extant a total of 11 solo violin works by Lonati; 8 versions of them were rewritten by Colombi, and 3 variants by Lonati (cf. Table 7). Another work which has to be attributed to Lonati is the solo sonata in the early 18th-century manuscript *Sixty Six Solo's or Sonatas for A Violin a Base Viol or Harpsichord Composed by, Seueral Eminent Masters* (British Library, Add. 31466). No. “XIX” (26v–27r) in this collection is a five-movement sonata signed “Carlo Ambrosio”.³⁴ This composition shows many features in its workshop characteristic of Lonati's style, alongside the first movement, which is reminiscent of the variants of Sonata No. 35 from MOe F. 283. Thus the number of compositions by the “Prince of Violinists” must be extended to 30 in manuscript and one which was published.³⁵

³⁴ This composition is not listed in any of the major encyclopaedic reference works for this composer.

³⁵ The manuscript collection Vm7. 741 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, which has been ascribed to Lonati by Brossard, is in reality a transcript of *Arie Diverse per il Violino..., libro primo* London, 1676, by Nicola Matteis. Cf. Michael TILMOUTH ‘Nicola Matteis’ *Musical Quarterly*, XLVI, 1960, p. 25.

No.	Title of work	Source	Colombi's versions	Lonati's variants
1.	<i>Sonata à Violino solo</i>	MOe F.639		
2.	<i>Sonata A Violino Solo</i>	MOe F.280 No.6	MOe F.280 No.7	
3.	<i>Sonata A Violino Solo</i>	MOe F.280 No.8	MOe F.280 No.4 MOe F.280 No.5	
4.	[<i>Sinfonia</i>] à Violino solo	MOe F.280 No.2	MOe F.280 No.1	DI Mus.2020-R-1 No.1
5.	[<i>Sinfonia</i>] à Violino solo	MOe F.280 No.3		
6.	<i>Sonata Violino Solo col suo Basso Continuo</i>	MOe E.282 No.1		
7.	<i>Sinfonia Violino Solo</i>	MOe E.282 No.2		
8.	[<i>Sonata à violino solo</i>]	MOe F.283 No.29	MOe F.1386 No.4	
9.	[<i>Sonata à violino solo</i>]	MOe F.283 No.35	F.1386 No.5 E.282 No.3 E.282 No.4	Wn E.M.62a Wn E.M.62b
10.	[<i>Sonata</i>] A Solo	Wn E.M.62c		
11.	<i>Sonata à Solo</i>	Wn E.M.62d		

Table 7. Lonati's solo sonatas in d'Este collections (ca 1686).

Since he was not too good a composer of the da chiesa genres, Colombi often resorted to extensively copying if not actually plagiarising the works of more experienced masters. As Peter Allsop observes, he copied the first part of Tarquinio Merula's *La Speltina* in his own Sonata Op. 4 No. 12; and his Op. 2 No. 1 and Op. 4 No. 4 come close to plagiarising the sonatas of Vitali.³⁶ This

³⁶ Tarquinio MERULA, *Il quattro libro delle canzoni* Op. 17. Venice, 1651, *La Speltina*; Giuseppe COLOMBI *Sonate a due violini* Op. 4. Bologna, 1676, *Sonata Duodecima*, *Sonata Quarta*; idem, *La Lira Armonica. Sinfonie a due violini, col suo basso continuo* Op. 2. Bologna, 1673, *Sonata Prima*; Giovanni Battista VITALI *Sonate a due, tre quattro e cinque stromenti* Op. 5. Bologna, 1669, *La Gratiani*; idem, *Sonate a due violini col suo basso continuo per l'organo* Op. 2. Bologna, 1667, *Sonata Terza*. Quoted after P. ALLSOP, *The Italian 'trio' sonata...* op. cit., pp. 172, 180, 304.

substantial amount of evidence against Colombi suggesting he was one of the plagiarists of Lonati should encourage researchers to continue a detailed scrutiny of his works. Although in this case Colombi did not go as far as to publish someone else's works, or parts of them, under his own name, the manner in which he inserted them in between works to which he put the signature "del Colombi" and his copying of whole pieces from Lonati in a number of structural versions and variants may be evidence of his not very honest intentions. The nature of all of these practices may well explain the questions raised by Peter Allsop and John G. Suess: why Colombi was held in much lesser esteem at the d'Este court in Modena than Corelli, and why this relatively obscure violinist never decided to publish his best pieces, though in many respects they were superior even to what Corelli had achieved.³⁷

Kraków, December 2000

³⁷ Cf. P. ALLSOP, *Violinistic Virtuosity...*, op. cit. p. 251; SUESS, *The Instrumental Music Manuscripts. .*, op. cit., p. 392.

Carl' Ambrogio Lonati
Sonata A Violino Solo

MOe, Mus.F.280 nr 6.

Grave

8

15

23

Allegro

29

35

This musical score consists of seven systems of piano music, each with a treble and bass staff. The measures are numbered 46, 53, 60, 66, 76, 85, and 92. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, accidentals, and dynamic markings. A 'Grave' marking is present in measure 66, and an 'Allegro' marking is present in measure 85. The score is written in a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 2/4 time signature.

46

53

60

66

[Grave]

2 6 7 6

2 6 7 6

76

85

Allegro

92

96

101

106

110

Piano

115

Grave Tremolo Arpeggio Tremolo

122

127

Adagio assai

The musical score consists of two staves, treble and bass. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 2/4. The score is divided into measures 96 through 127. Measures 96-110 are marked 'Piano'. Measures 115-122 are marked 'Grave' and 'Tremolo'. Measures 127-128 are marked 'Adagio assai'. The score includes various musical notations such as treble and bass clefs, key signatures, time signatures, and dynamic markings.

Carl' Ambrogio Lonati and Giuseppe Colombi

139

150

159
Largo

156

163

170

177

184
Piano Forte

This musical score is for a piano piece, spanning measures 139 to 184. It is written for a single piano instrument, using a grand staff with a treble and bass clef. The key signature is one flat (B-flat major or D minor). The time signature is 4/4. The score is divided into systems of two staves each. Measure numbers 139, 150, 159, 156, 163, 170, 177, and 184 are indicated at the beginning of their respective systems. The tempo marking 'Largo' appears below measure 159, and the dynamic markings 'Piano' and 'Forte' appear below measure 184. The music features a variety of note values, including eighth, quarter, and half notes, as well as rests and accidentals. The piece concludes with a final cadence in measure 184.